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THE

Commonweal

Hanging Together

Value of the O.A.S.

by C. K. Yearley, Jr.

Catholics in Public Office

A Look at the Record

by Raymond F. Cour

THE VENTRILOQUIST: A POEM . . . . . by Leonard Wolf
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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

AND NOW, THE CAMPAIGN

THE IDEA of reconvening the Eighty-sixth Congress after the political conventions was largely that of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn. After his nomination, Senator Kennedy bravely listed a series of measures he and Senator Johnson hoped to steer through the extraordinary pre-election meeting, but few realistic commentators really believed the Democratic candidates could accomplish what they had in mind. As it has turned out, events in the last few weeks have shown that if the pessimists erred at all, it was on the side of optimism.

Senator Kennedy wanted legislation providing for a higher minimum wage, Federal aid for school construction, a system of medical insurance for the aged tied into the Social Security system, and an expanded housing program. Despite a Democratic majority of almost two-thirds in both House and Senate, he failed to achieve any part of this ambitious program. The only question about the extraordinary session that remains, then, is which if either of the two parties will benefit in November from the fiasco.

At this point the Republicans are confident that they can pin Harry Truman's "do-nothing" label on the Eighty-sixth Congress, to their own great advantage. Where, they ask, was the much-vaunted leadership Senator Kennedy laid claim to in Los Angeles? How can a man lead the country when many of his own party-members in Congress refuse to follow his lead?

G.O.P. leaders seem supremely confident that questions like these mean votes for Richard Nixon. They may be right, but we are not completely convinced that popular reaction to the recent session will necessarily take the form Republican tacticians now expect. It is, surely, common knowledge throughout the country that conservative Democrats, largely from the South, will join Republican Old Guarders whenever possible to stymie liberal legislation to which they are unsympathetic. In the recently concluded session this traditional coalition between Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans was highly effective, but only because it was backed by the threat of a Presidential veto which would have required a two-thirds vote to override.

IN THINKING they have a key issue in their cry of a "do-nothing" Congress, therefore, Republican leaders may only be misleading themselves. Senator Kennedy should now have no trouble in identifying himself in the public mind with the rejected legislation on behalf of a higher minimum wage, medical care for the aged and Federal aid to school construction. Thanks to G.O.P. strategists, he will thus be able to "sharpen his image" as a liberal—which is precisely what he needs to do in the urban centers and industrial states.

At any rate, with Congress safely adjourned and Mr. Nixon soon expected to be out of the hospital, the campaign itself can get started—and none too soon. As the candidates prepare to debate, however, the resurgence of "the religious issue" must be acknowledged. Reports too numerous to be discounted indicate that voters in some areas of the country are being bombarded with anti-Catholic material.

In the South, Joseph Alsop says, the campaign is beginning to produce anti-Catholicism on the scale of 1928. "If the signs do not mislead," he writes, "the new attack on the Roman Catholic Church will make Senator John F. Kennedy's experience in the West Virginia primary look like an interfaith tea party," and he goes on to cite

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concrete examples. Among those quoted by Mr. Alsop is the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, who said: "I am against Kennedy because he represents the Roman Catholic Church. I have said this outside the pulpit, and I shall say it in the pulpit."

The anti-Catholic drive that is under way has something for everybody. For the ignorant there is "I Was a Nun" and "House of Death" or "Convent Brutality." For the slightly more knowledgeable there is the often exposed, still circulated Knights of Columbus "Oath." And for the more sophisticated there is the equally fraudulent employment of a letter by Thomas Jefferson, supposedly directed against "Boston Catholics," the use of which in a Southern Baptist paper was described recently by James Reston of the N.Y. *Times.*

How seriously should this anti-Catholic drive be taken? How much effect does it really have? Enough effect, according to Rowland Evans, Jr. of the N.Y. *Herald Tribune,* to cause the Democrats to count more heavily on their campaign in the big industrial states of the North, with a correspondingly reduced effort in the South, border and farm states, because in these latter regions "Senator Kennedy's religion seems to be deflecting more voters to the Republicans than originally expected." And Mr. Evans cites a survey carried out by himself in Iowa in which a significantly large number of Democratic voters who had twice cast their ballot for Adlai Stevenson stated quite candidly that this time they intended to vote for Mr. Nixon because of Senator Kennedy's Catholicism.

All this adds up to a discouraging turn of events —events which are particularly disheartening to Catholics but which must be regretted, we think, by millions upon millions who are not Catholics but who deeply resent the intrusion of religious prejudice into a political campaign. How should the issue be handled? Senator Kennedy has declared himself quite openly on the myriad questions that people have raised in connection with his Catholicism, from separation of Church and State through public education and aid to parochial schools all the way to the question of an Ambassador to the Vatican. If he continues to discuss the religious issue, he will be accused of seeking Catholic and "sympathetic" votes. If he does not answer the whispers, he may well face defeat in November. Either way, he is bound to be hurt, and just which course he will follow we do not know. We are sure, however, that if the anti-Catholic campaign continues and intensifies, the country will be hurt by it even more than Senator Kennedy.

KHRUSHCHEV TO THE U.N.

TO PUT THINGS MILDLY, the American response to the news of Khrushchev's coming was one of resentment and dismay. It struck many as an outrage that the man who had only recently broken up the summit conference and kept President Eisenhower from visiting Russia should now on his own decide to return here. And protocol will demand that he receive the usual amenities as head of his delegation to the U.N. It is hardly cricket for him to come, but since when have Soviet leaders been widely renowned for exhibiting a spirit of fair play? Perhaps there may even be some propaganda advantage for the United States in the presence of Khrushchev and other leaders from Iron Curtain countries on these shores, for that will contrast sharply with the barring from Russia of leaders of the democratic world.

For Khrushchev, or anyone else the Presidium chose, to come to New York as a Russian delegate to the U.N. is, of course, entirely in order. That the prospect is unwelcome does not alter the case. Once again, as on the occasion of Khrushchev's official visit to this country, great precautions will have to be taken for his personal safety. Prudence would dictate nothing less.

To what extent will it be the part of wisdom to engage in direct debate before the U.N. with the Soviet leader? That sort of public platform would be the worst medium imaginable for discussing the touchy issues which divide us so sharply. On the other hand, to back into a summit conference at this juncture because of Khrushchev's presence here would be equally foolish.

The Soviet leader is hardly the man to pass up any good opportunity for making general anti-Western propaganda, but it may well be that in this instance the United States is not to be his principal target. We alluded last week to the major differences between the Chinese Communists and the Kremlin on the issue of whether war or "peaceful coexistence" is the better means of achieving the Communist domination of the world.

There is a lesser difference between the Russians and the Chinese which is analogous. For the former the Communist role in Africa should be simply to encourage anti-colonial revolt with a minimum of intervention. According to this Soviet theory, once the first stage of national freedom and self-government has been reached, it will be comparatively easy, through diplomatic and economic pressure, to impel these fledgling regimes in a Communist direction. For their part, the Chinese would

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favor taking advantage of the turmoil engendered by the struggle for liberation to set up native Communist regimes right from the start. It might be added in passing that neither points to a happy prospect for the native peoples concerned or for the free world.

But to Khrushchev the limelight at the U.N. will present manifold advantages on this issue. He can strike a dramatic pose as the ardent champion of all these peoples, a world leader who regards every attainment of political independence as a welcome blow against capitalist imperialism. He will have opportunities for making his case and establishing bonds of friendship which are denied to the Chinese because of their continued exclusion from the United Nations.

If the free world has to choose between truly national regimes and Communist governments in the newly emerging States of Africa, the former would obviously be preferable. They would permit diplomatic and economic assistance of our own, whereas there could be little to hope for from the shambles that would result if we had to depend on the overturning of Communist regimes in these underdeveloped countries. All this puts the Russian formula in a more favorable light than the Chinese, but Soviet intervention in the Congo indicates that in practice there is often little to choose between them. However, if either formula has any chance of success in Africa this lamentable development will in large measure be due to a history of negligence of the United States and Western Europe.

CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

THE RESOLUTIONS of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which has just been founded in a four-day meeting on the campus of St. Louis University, were as courageous, as responsible and as wise as we have come to expect from the men and women who have been working in this field for decades.

The Conference, representing forty-five independent Catholic Interracial Councils from all over the U.S., praised the courage of the Southern sit-in demonstrators and endorsed the lunch-counter demonstrations "and other forms of peaceful protest" against segregation as "morally legitimate" forms of action against racial discrimination.

Other resolutions called for the "complete removal of segregation in all public and semi-public facilities" and the removal of voting restrictions which deny Negroes their right to vote. In housing, the Conference urged its members to work for the abolition of discriminatory practices by real estate, mortgage and insurance agencies and to "initiate programs to encourage non-white families to seek homes in any neighborhood." Local Catholic parishes were reminded of their obligations and opportunities and were asked to remove all racial discrimination within parish organizations and then in local civic affairs. All Catholic citizens were urged to support the public schools where they are threatened with closing by segregationists.

Much of the work of the Conference had to do with racial problems in the South, as one would expect, but it was made very clear that its members do not regard racism as an exclusively Southern concern. Indeed, the opening talk by Father William J. Kenealy, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago, charged that there is "more hypocrisy about interracial justice in the North than in the South." Racism, whether North or South, Father Kenealy said, is "essentially the same vicious evil," but "most Southerners say what they mean and practice what they preach," even though this is "frequently saddening and sometimes frightening." As an example, he said, racial discrimination in housing is worse in Chicago than it is in New Orleans.

In any case, the Conference in St. Louis should help to give all Catholics, North or South, the strength and the inspiration to commit themselves to the cause of interracial justice. The very existence of this Conference, the culmination of long, lonely years of struggle by a handful of men in widely separated areas of the country, should hearten anyone who may sometimes feel that in the struggle for interracial justice the effort is too great and the progress too meager. The entire Catholic Interracial movement owes its life almost wholly to two dedicated and far-sighted men, George K. Hunton and Father John LaFarge, S.J., who in 1934 formed the first Catholic Interracial Council in New York. From such a precarious beginning, and the labors of a few heroic individuals, has developed the impressive nation-wide organization which has met this year at St. Louis University. It makes a symbolic footnote to the meeting that St. Louis University was itself once an all-white school but was desegregated in 1945.

The elimination of racism is still, unhappily, a considerable distance away. In fact, on the same page of the local paper with the reports of the St. Louis Conference were reports of race riots, vandalism, plans to close public schools rather than admit Negroes, and similar evidence that interracial justice is being violated all around us. Yet the cur-

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rent of history has without a doubt begun to move towards the rectification of these wrongs. In this connection, we think, the remarks of the moderator of the St. Louis Interracial Council, Father P. J. Molloy, have wider application than he intended, speaking of his own city. "We've seen a complete change in climate in St. Louis," he said. "It used to be the popular thing to be prejudiced. Now people don't want to admit prejudice, and it is the popular thing to be liberal."

TOWARDS A TRUE WORLD COURT

WITH THE vigorous recommendation of President Eisenhower, the American Bar Association once again voted to oppose the Connally Reservation. Before the United States agreed to participate in the International Court of Justice, in 1946, it placed limitations upon the treaty. At that time the Senate adopted the Connally amendment, so named after the former Senator of Texas, which reserved to the United States the right to judge whether an issue to be adjudicated was domestic and, thereby, excluded from the jurisdiction of the International Court. This meant, in effect, that the United States could refuse at any time to allow itself to be sued.

Since that time the Connally amendment has been under steady attack. But it has also had strong supporters. The debate which preceded the vote of the American Bar Association saw vigorous speakers oppose each other with strong, developed opinions.

David Maxwell, a former president of the A.B.A., defended the Amendment by pointing out that two of the fifteen judges now on the World Court are Communists. "I am not prepared," he said, "to sacrifice one iota of American sovereignty to a court which is even controlled only in part by the Soviets." Another past president of the association, Frank Holman, inveighed against "this polyglot court," warning that it might soon include "representatives of six or seven African nations."

Arguments such as these, it is clear, derive from a position that would effectively limit United States engagement with ever-increasing international problems. They flow from a fearful, defensive attitude. But these attitudes and arguments were effectively countered within the A.B.A. John Satterfield, president-elect of the organization, stated forcefully the effect our present attitude can have on world opinion.

"Every day, every month, every year we tell the world that we who profess to believe in the rule of law will not submit to it.

"We are in a battle for the minds of men in the free world, in the emerging nations of Africa and Asia and the re-emerging nations of Latin America. Shall we tell these men that we advocate world peace through the law only when it affects someone else?"

These are indeed the issues. The Connally amendment has become one of those matters which help define basic attitudes; it separates those who look backward to a more comfortable, less troubled time from those who are willing and eager to cope with the evolving future and the new, increasingly complex issues our country will meet. The face of the globe changes day by day. New nations are rising and new voices are demanding to be heard. The International Court of Justice is one of the agencies that may help guide the relations of the growing community of nations; it is one of the very few agencies that make more probable the substitution of law for force.

It is encouraging that the A.B.A. voted to oppose the Connally Reservation. But it is less encouraging when one considers that over ten years ago there was noticeably less support for the Reservation, that President Eisenhower's recommendation met such determined opposition this year. But President Eisenhower's position is shared by strong leaders in both parties. With their constant urging and support the U.S. may yet be a member of the International Court on the same basis as are all other NATO nations.

SUNDAY PICNIC OR COLD WAR

AS EXPECTED, the Olympic games are providing national upsets and surprises, personal disappointments and triumphs. And, not surprisingly, they are also becoming a pawn in the cold war. If there was a time when the Olympics were regarded as simple displays of the best sportsmen each country had to offer, that time has swiftly faded into history. The attitude of many present participants was expressed by Harold Connolly, an American title holder:

"We treat the Olympics as if it's a big Sunday picnic. To most of the countries, particularly Russia, this is war—and they fight it like a war."

It occurred to us that, given a choice, some people might prefer a Sunday picnic to a cold war. But we must admit that it seems difficult to combine the two.

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Hanging Together

To what extent does the Organization of American States represent healthy growth rooted in political realities?

by C. K. YEARLEY, JR.

AS MR. HERTER and the other foreign ministers leave the Organization of American States parley in Costa Rica, some limited things can be said. At least the streets of San José, unlike those of Bogotá during the chartering of the O.A.S. in 1948, are quiet. No liberals, such as Colombia's ill-fated Jorge Gaitán, have been assassinated; no vengeful mobs have disrupted the diplomatists' deliberations or threatened the delegates; no buildings are burning; and there have been no casualties. The Costa Ricans prudently forestalled any unseemly exuberance on the part of the Cuban delegation by disarming several of its members; local police sensible of North American "eccentricities" have swept the country's handful of Communists under the rug; and San José's Catholic Trade Union Confederation, ostensibly speaking to the city's underdogs, has urged a course of respectful moderation upon them while their government plays host to this international assemblage.

Yet the quiet in San José is obviously the calm of a storm center. For twelve years now, by mutual consent twenty-one American republics have been pledged to the attainment of peace and justice, the promotion of solidarity, the strengthening of collaboration, and the defense of one another's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence through the O.A.S. And for twelve years the burdens, and consequently the strains, upon the organization have increased steadily, if not precipitously. Indeed, those familiar with American affairs have never expected it would be otherwise.

A majority of the Latin delegates represent countries presently wracked by industrial, social, and demographic changes of vast proportions. Mr. Herter's problems may be of a different dimension, but he speaks for a people who, stripped of their usual security, are adjusting at times hysterically and in some ways myopically to an international environment very different from that in which their basic assumptions were shaped. Such is the background against which the foreign ministers confront their problems: the embittered exchanges between Betancourt's democratic Venezuela and Trujillo's wobbly Dominican dictatorship; the vexing ramifications of the Cuban revolution, particularly those elements which Castro has packaged for export to dissidents in half a dozen contiguous states; and the challenge of Soviet and Chinese intervention in American affairs. All of these expose the grosser fictions about hemispheric solidarity.

IN SPITE OF the divisions bared in San José, or the limited success the ministers may enjoy in coping with them, the O.A.S. continues to win wider confidence and more respectful attention. Among influential Latins it is coming to symbolize the distinctive American preoccupation with the principles of liberal democracy, even where politicians ignore or fail to apply them; to reflect what Alberto Lleras, the distinguished champion of inter-American cooperation, regards as an historically unique "inter-American way of life." Similarly, for better or worse, events transpiring in Costa Rica emphasize the continually deepening commitment which U.S. diplomacy has made to the organization's future.

Given the growing moral and political investment thus being made in both halves of the hemisphere, the soundness and authenticity of the O.A.S. are a matter of considerable significance everywhere. But they are of particularly serious concern to the United States. After fifteen years of what our southern neighbors describe as our "unsalutary neglect" of them and after almost eight years of the smug ineptitude of the Eisenhower and Dulles brothers, we can hardly avoid asking about the O.A.S. How much does it represent healthy growth rooted in political realities? How much does it represent genuine, widely-based Pan-Americanism.

The stakes riding on such an assessment are high.

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If, for instance, the O.A.S. should fall, through lack of support, into desuetude as an instrument of inter-American political accommodation, it is possible that our foreign policy might shift noticeably. In response to domestic panic inspired by Communist inroads into the hemisphere, it might even revert to the pattern of unilateral interventionism which in the past has so commonly tempted even our liberal and enlightened national leaders. Or, should the O.A.S. become, as its enemies insist it already has, a mere claque composed of regimes subservient to U.S. interests, divorced from the sanction of their own peoples, its atrophy as well as the collapse of our own policies is assured. For under these circumstances the O.A.S. would inevitably set its course in flagrant contempt of the dynamic forces abroad in the Americas.

The authenticity of the O.A.S. is partially attested by the fact that never has it been either a brain-child or a ward of the U.S. State Department. On the contrary, despite Washington's elation over its development, the initiative for its creation sprang not from Foggy Bottom but from the middle and southern reaches of the hemisphere. What the Latins mainly started they have likewise mainly controlled. The leadership of its supreme organ, the Inter-American Conference, as well as its permanent executive Council, has come in overwhelming measure throughout the past dozen years from among other Americans. The *ad referendum* voting at its meetings, furthermore, is eminently democratic; the majority rules—and with a twenty to one edge favoring the other republics, the U.S. with distressing frequency has met determined opposition *en bloc*. Upon occasion it has also been decisively outvoted. Or, as with our plans for handling the Castro administration at San José, it has watched its proposals under pressure suffer drastic modification.

Latin Americans have exploited other potential advantages too; and to some extent, although such things are hard to determine with precision, their independence of U.S. policymakers is probably related to the high caliber of the men who represent them and furnish the O.A.S. with its officers. Without intentional disparagement of U.S. representation or of such pioneers in U.S.-Latin American co-operation as Dr. Leo Rowe, it is generally true that the United States has supplied the O.A.S. with money and with men of competence, but the Latins have dominated it by supplying men of brilliance and real distinction. In the long history of Pan-Americanism, of which the O.A.S. is to date an end product, this, in fact, has usually been the case. Starting with the Nabucos of Brazil or Dr. Jaime Bodet of Mexico, through scores of Latin American presidents, congressmen, scholars, jurists, and intellectuals—Chile's Davila, Argentina's Corominas, Quintanilla of Mexico, Lleras of Colombia—North Americans have usually been outclassed. The quality of the men themselves is likewise an index of the relative importance of Pan-Americanism to articulate North and South Americans.

NO marshaling of evidence, of course, will dampen charges that the O.A.S. is a tool of North American imperialism. Unshakable before most such categories of fact, the Soviets are sure to remain fixedly unbelieving. But a number of Europeans, as Latins irritably point out, have also mistakenly read the implications of preponderant U.S. power in the hemisphere. Moreover, scornful of the organization's purported freedom from United States interests, they are frankly incredulous of suggestions that as an international experiment it warrants emulation. All the critics, however, are not in Europe or the Soviet orbit. Since the United States has willingly and constructively backed the O.A.S., American demagogues in and out of office periodically discover that residual hatred of Yankee imperialism, real or imaginary, is too effective to ignore. Unfortunately, too, during the heat of a campaign against dictatorships many indiscriminately indict the organization and blame the U.S. because of the unsavory characteristics of some member states.

Many of the allegations impugning the integrity of the O.A.S. are undoubtedly scavenged up from scraps of truth. Because the Pan-American Union, for example, was absorbed by the O.A.S. as one of its central organs, something of the Union's unsavory reputation rubbed off on it. In some circles it looked as though the store was remodeled but the management stayed the same. It is not hard to see why such an impression, unfair as it was, gained currency. At its inception late in the nineteenth century, the Pan-American Union really was a creature hatched under the aegis of the State Department.

Inordinately fearful of saturating domestic consumers with the products of our new industrial system, U.S. jingoes and economic expansionists encouraged Washington to fashion a spearhead for their commercial invasion of Latin markets. (This was an invasion, incidentally, without offers of reciprocal advantages to Latin Americans.) Since the Union was the weapon that emerged from these plans it almost instantly became suspect to the south of us and it never enlisted the sympathy of more than a few thousand of the tens of millions of other Americans. Strained as the resemblance may be between what an Undersecretary later called this "musty and moribund" handiwork of the State Department and the new Latin-controlled O.A.S., it will take a long time in areas where ignorance and illiteracy are prevalent to set the facts straight.

Additional criticisms leveled against the organization have admittedly been nourished on more substantial intelligence. An international democracy of *regimes* the O.A.S. may well be. Nevertheless, since 1948 many of the participating regimes have been neither demo-

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cratic nor representative of the masses of their people. This is more than merely awkward. Bound by its Charter to "the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man," the ultimate responsibilities of the O.A.S. are quite clear.

But in twelve years many Americans have suffered keen disappointment on this score. The Peróns, Jiménez, Odrías, Trujillos, Somozas, and other dictators have variously subscribed with pious hypocrisy to the ideals of the Charter the better to entrench themselves behind Article 15 which prohibits any intervention "against the personality of the State." And as they have, some liberals have come to denounce the O.A.S. as a shield for the protection of old, reactionary coalitions of landowners, army officers, and the Church, or for home-grown fascists. Other occurrences have likewise whetted liberal suspicions; for instance, none of them could draw much encouragement from the selection to high office of Venezuela's Laurano Gomez, once described by a sober authority as "the leading fascist of the continent." And U.S. actions, followed with some mistrust and more trepidations, often discouraged hope among our neighbors that our influence within the organization would be placed on the side of the angels. Instead, until Washington began reacting to the shock of Nixon's tour, U.S. authorities—with an incredible lack of discrimination—publicly praised, decorated, embraced, and otherwise favored or patronized Latin dictators, thereby bringing the O.A.S. into disrepute. In addition, we did little more to raise the institution's stock, when the typical Eisenhower-Dulles combination of unsoldierly panic and righteous wrath led us to high-handed intervention in Guatemala in defiance of machinery we were obliged to honor as a participant in the inter-American system.

That the O.A.S. is vulnerable to criticisms is certainly true enough; nevertheless neither logic nor history supports the conclusion that because undemocratic regimes have perverted or benefited from it at times, it was intended as a bulwark for them. Nor can it be demonstrated that it has failed generally to give expression to the will, not of an odious few, but of the majority of its member governments. Accusations, in fact, that the organization was devised by and for reactionaries or that it has been manipulated by Washington imperialists are wide of the mark. This is especially apparent when some of the motives underlying its establishment are seen in proper historical context.

Far from being a hastily concocted nostrum for anti-democratic governments, the institution is the result, first of all, of a lengthy political evolution. Precedents behind both the Rio Treaty of reciprocal defense and the economic pact of Bogotá, each of which underpins functioning of the O.A.S., go back nearly a century and a half to inspirations given voice by Simon Bolívar. Concepts of Pan-Americanism to the south, moreover, did not stem from commercial delusions, as they tended to in this country until about a generation ago. Rather, almost from their beginnings in Latin America, such ideas were linked to political necessities. Weak and newly free, faced with a European alliance eager to reconquer them, Latin governments as early as 1826 agreed "to maintain in common, defensively and offensively, . . . the sovereignty and independence of all and each of the confederated powers of America against foreign subjection."

Actually the protection required was afforded them during much of the nineteenth century, not by hemispheric collaboration, nor by the Monroe Doctrine which the United States was generally far too impotent and introspective to enforce, but instead by British ministers which found it good policy to keep the hemisphere largely inviolate. Unfortunately, like most satisfactory arrangements it was dissolved by time; the twentieth century witnessed changes in the world order and progressive erosion of British strength. Latins were again constrained, therefore, to revitalize plans for an effective inter-American system able to replace the benefits they had derived from British policies.

INCREASINGLY vital energies were thus infused into the moribund Pan-American Union and the more constructive inter-American Conferences at Lima, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro, starting in the late thirties. From these variously came the Declaration of Lima, the Act of Chapultepec, and the Rio Pact, all signs that Latin sensitivities on this score were as acute as our own.

A second set of reasons behind Latin interest in the formation of the O.A.S. was rooted in their discomfiture over provisions laid down at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta and later mortised into the structure of the United Nations Charter. As a natural projection of the wartime alliances the U.N. was obviously and intentionally shaped as the instrumentality of the Big Five—really the Big Three. To prostrate Europeans, anxious to get on with reconstruction, expecting nothing other than the dominance of sheer power, this was satisfactory enough. However in Latin America this bred considerable skepticism even among the large numbers of people otherwise fully prepared to embrace a world organization.

From southern perspectives the U.N. appeared "a rigid hierarchy of great powers . . . and of small states at the mercy of the moral and political stature of the powerful." And there were further related objections. With deep changes, some accelerated by the war, and democratic currents running strongly in their own

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countries, many Latins frankly felt that the U.N. was undemocratic and that in several respects its functions were apt to be redundant and regressive. Americans, after all, could already boast a functioning international "system" of their own, rooted in their history, refined by the lessons of wartime cooperation, and superior in many ways to the organization with which the great powers hoped to supercede it. If Americans surrendered what they possessed, what guarantees did they have that the members of the U.N. Security Council, armed with the veto, would be interested in solving their problems to their advantage on the basis of their legal principles?

Finally, though by no means last in importance, the U.N. set-up gave the impression in Latin circles that the United States, replete with veto, was to serve as the hemisphere's policeman. But this was exactly the role other Americans hoped we had put aside with the coming of non-intervention and the Good Neighbor Policy. It was in the light of these qualms that spokesmen for the Latin republics stalled deliberations at San Francisco for a fortnight in 1945, until provisions were made for the incorporation of an American regional system into the United Nations.

INITIATIVE for further development of American regionalism and sustained support for its chief institution have subsequently come from otherwise cautious and skeptical governments; this has happened not so much because of attractive idealism on the part of these governments, but because of the tangible benefits they feel they secure from it. These benefits are, in fact, the best index of its genuinely *Pan*-American character. For example, such things as Uruguay's plight as a buffer between Argentina and Brazil, Colombia's fear of U.S. arms being piled up among her neighbors, and Haiti's distress over Dominican "aggressions," give these states an important stake in effective peace machinery. To date, without really solving problems, the O.A.S. has a good record in this respect. Viewed more comprehensively, regardless of whether governments are entirely happy about it, inter-American cooperation is nearly everywhere tolerated as a political and economic necessity.

There are differences, to be sure, over the relative value and utility of O.A.S. services. The United States, though conscious of O.A.S. voting power and its ideological importance in the U.N. tends to see the organization mainly in terms of its own defense and security, as our case against Cuba affirms. On the other hand, the Brazilians, Mexicans, and Argentines, alive to the U.S. as a prime purchaser of their commodities and as the hemisphere's most important source of desperately needed capital, emphasize the economic collaboration to which the organization's basic documents refer.

As to which elements in the Americas get the most value out of the O.A.S. there is a lively debate. But debate implies doubt and doubt is often a sign of life and vigor. No debate of comparable importance, in any event, ever centered on the Pan-American Union. Certainly with the development as "authentic" an organization as the present state of American liberal democracy allows, Latin governments have built into the O.A.S. certain advantages they lacked before. If nothing else, they have committed the United States to maintaining hemispheric defenses on an unprecedented scale to which their budgets are unequal. And, insofar as they are able, they have institutionalized and restrained the strongest power in the region by subtle use of its own democratic pretensions and its respect for law. This is no small achievement.

RESIGNATION, Esq.

The time is white. You walk the winter home.
Your wigwam's there: your igloo and your manse.
The door is locked. You use your key—your roam-without-me-not. Your blood wakes from its trance.

Your domicile is rheostated *Warm*.
You take your hat off: you are in a house.
You take your coat off, hang it up, alarm
Quiet of midnight for the ridless mouse

Because you rattled hangers. Next, your gloves,
Your muffler, and, bowed to them, Goodyear boots.
You need not these inside a house of loves,
The summered flower of and to its roots.

The time is late . . . or early: past twelve now.
In time to sleep, you walk into your room:
Smooth sheets will smooth 12 hours of your brow.
You switch the light on, see the darkness bloom.

You take your jacket off, unknot your tie.
You take your shirt off, trousers, shoes and socks.
In short, you are undressed; lights out, to lie
Awake until sleep locks and sleep unlocks.

Stretched out between a sleep and rising, you,
Stripped to your flesh, have still a mind to strip:
Undress the memory; you take off, too,
The armor of the pulse, the heart untrip.

In six, now undressed, senses, you are bones:
Forget them (memory's vanished) rib and all.
The time is timeless as are zoneless zones.
A sun might rise, a universe might fall.

JOHN FANDEL.

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As Al Smith put it,
let's look at the record

Catholics in Public Office

by RAYMOND F. COUR

WHEN THE FIRST member of the Catholic Church to become President of the United States enters the White House—whether in 1961 or later—what sort of public official is the American people likely to see? Since no two persons are exactly alike he will, of course, have his own distinctive traits, mannerisms, and personal preferences of many kinds. But these aside, is there anything in his religious profession which could serve as a guide to his outlook on government or his future conduct in his new office?

The subject is of interest because of the persistent uneasiness which the thought of a Catholic incumbent at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue generates in many minds. Partly due to the humanly understandable fear of the unknown, this anxiety centers in specific doubts about the fate of traditional American liberties, notably religious freedom, in the hands of a Catholic President, and the extent to which a Catholic office-holder is encumbered by his creed in the discharge of his legal duties. Often too vague for accurate description, this uncertainty begets wonder about whether Church and state will be "united," religious liberty restricted, the public school system abolished, the government overstaffed with Catholic adherents, and hierarchical pronouncements, foreign and domestic, medieval and modern, made the blueprint for government policy in this country.

The question of a Catholic as President can be explored and assurances offered in various areas. Although a not uncommon method is to scrutinize Catholic doctrine, often only to "discover" there information prejudicial to adequate and impartial discharge of public duties, such a study, while perhaps interesting to some as an academic exercise, is not rewarding in practical observations. It is certainly not to be recommended to Americans who are accustomed to judging matters pragmatically. As a nation we have deserved a high grade in political prudence when judged by Edmund Burke's standard that "One sure symptom of an ill-conducted state is the propensity of people to resort to theories." Justice Holmes expressed the substance of the American approach when he said: "A page of history is worth a volume of logic."

Since it avails little to answer these "discoveries" in Catholic teaching with rebuttals based on theological reasoning or merely to offer assurance that no sinister or unpatriotic designs motivate Catholic candidates, a different approach might well be used. Catholics are not, after all, strangers to public office in this country. Any Catholic who reached the White House would, it is true, be the first in that office, but he would also be only the latest in a long line of Catholic officials dating from the start of our history under the Constitution. Can anything be learned from the record of other Catholic firsts, governors, Senators, *et al.*, and their successors in office?

THE FIRST Catholic to serve in the Senate, Daniel Carroll of Maryland, entered that body in 1789; the latest joined a dozen or more of his co-religionists there in 1959. The first Catholics in the House of Representatives, Charles Carroll of Maryland and Thomas FitzSimons of Pennsylvania, also took office in 1789, and serving in the 86th Congress today are nearly a hundred members of that Church. The first Catholic in the Cabinet, Roger Brooke Taney, became Attorney-General in 1831; between then and the term of James Mitchell as Secretary of Labor thirteen have served in Cabinet posts. The first Catholic Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Taney, took the oath of office in 1836, and since that date five others have sat on our highest court, Justice William Brennan being the latest to attain that distinction. When in 1843 Edward Kavanaugh became governor of Maine he was the first of his faith to reach such a position; since then Catholics have occupied at one time or another the executive mansions of almost half the states and at the present time hold seven of the fifty governorships.

By this time Americans have grown accustomed to office-holding by Catholics. Today the sight of a Catholic in the Cabinet or on the Court causes neither surprise nor alarm. Anyone reaching the age of sixty-five in 1960 has known only seven years of his life when the Supreme Court did not have at least one Catholic member. Native-born citizens eligible to cast their

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second vote in a Presidential election this year have never known a time when the Cabinet did not have Catholic representation. The fact that one-sixth of the Senate and one-fifth of the House profess the Catholic religion is more a matter of curiosity to statisticians than of interest to the general public. States with Catholic governors and cities with Catholic mayors have been observed by out-of-state residents who, if they bothered at all to compare these places with their home districts, probably did so not in terms of religion but in terms of cleanliness of streets, courtesy of traffic officers, or climate or scenic characteristics.

It should be noted that accession to office by Catholics was not unattended by protests, fears, and predictions of woe for the public weal. Such sentiments, generally subdued out of a sense of sportsmanship, accompany most successful candidates to their inauguration ceremonies, and as often as not arise from hostility by the defeated party or from disappointment by the losers in the intra-party struggle of the victor. Disenchantment of both groups is greater when the fortunate winner is a member of a minority or newcomer-group in society, Catholics, for example. Yet Catholics have served in every type of governmental position and have held office on all levels of our dual system except the two highest in the federal executive. Their number in municipal, county, state, and federal posts has been impressive, and while not proportionate to the Catholic share of the population has been sizable enough to provide a basis for judgment of Catholic behavior in political office.

WHAT HAS been the general effect of Catholic incumbencies? Have they provided any justification for the anxiety of the doubters? The picture which emerges from a consideration of their terms of office is far from that of crusaders zealous for a sectarian cause and bent on using any means, even public authority, for that end. In fact, no single picture emerges at all. The most noteworthy feature of their service is that they are generally indistinguishable from their non-Catholic counterparts.

Catholic office-holders have been efficient and inefficient, honest and corrupt, industrious and lazy, partisan in the extreme and public-spirited to a very marked degree. They have been found in all major and some minor parties, and on all sides of public questions. They've been among the prudent advocates of the possible as well as among the die-hard defenders of the obsolete and the starry-eyed promoters of the premature. Their religious affiliation has not inspired all of them to resist temptations to graft, peculation, and extortion, nor has it prevented most of them from honest and efficient discharge of their duties. While their mistakes of judgment or character are a matter of regret to their co-religionists, it is a source of satisfaction to their fellow Catholics that in their hands the traditional values of America have suffered no loss.

Has freedom of religion been in jeopardy or "union of Church and state" a prospect? In this particular Catholic incumbencies have been notably uneventful. Like their fellow Americans of other faiths, Catholic officials have simply served as citizens performing civic functions in accordance with their oath of office and the accepted interpretation of their legal duties. In those of our states, counties, and cities of various sizes which have placed Catholics in prominent, even the highest, positions, there is no suggestion that the status of religious liberty is less secure than elsewhere or that the principle of separation has suffered a setback.

It is not contended, for example, that New York, then more populous than Canada, was more free, patriotic, or devoted to national ideals in 1919 when Al Smith became governor then it was a decade later when he completed his fourth term at Albany. The fate of religious interests in our large municipalities does not vary with the ups and downs of Catholic politicians but remains constant regardless of the denomination of the city officials. In some instances, in fact, Catholic installations fared better under local administrations headed by non-Catholics who granted benefits which their Catholic predecessors in office, seeking to avoid even the appearance of favoritism, had been reluctant to grant.

A missionary zeal to remake our political institutions according to a supposed Catholic pattern is not to be found in the record of the members of that Church who have held public office in the United States. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., recently observed that regardless of what their theology might say the record of Catholic officials in this country justifies our judging Catholic candidates on the basis of political acumen only. Doctor John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary stated that "the fear that Roman Catholics in American public life may be agents of a centralized system is without foundation. It does not take account of the record of Catholics who hold many of the highest offices; they do not conform to a single pattern but are divided, as are other Americans, on most public issues." Henry Steele Commager, in his study of the years since 1880, says: "Whatever conclusions might be drawn from a scrutiny of Catholic doctrine, the fact was that Catholicism had flourished as a major religion for three quarters of a century without raising serious difficulties except in the imaginations of men, and that democratic institutions seemed as sound when the church numbered twenty-four million members as they had been when it counted its communicants by the hundred thousand. It might, indeed, be maintained that the Catholic Church was, during this period, one of the most effective of all agencies for democracy and Americanization."

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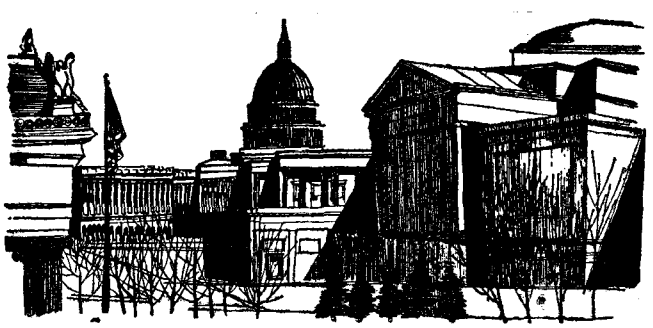
THESE GENERAL appraisals of Catholic public service by non-Catholic scholars can be supplemented by individual records. Take, for example, the case of Roger Brooke Taney, the first Catholic Cabinet member and the first Catholic Justice of the Supreme Court. Opposition to Taney's appointment as Chief Justice was strong, based on political, sectional, and personal as well as religious reasons, since his stand on the Bank and his loyalty to Andrew Jackson alienated the Whigs and the anti-Jackson Democrats. Years later, however, the two principal leaders of this opposition acknowledged the high quality of his public service. In a magnanimous gesture Henry Clay sought an interview with Taney in which he said that "a better appointment could not have been made and that the ermine, so long worn and honored by Marshall, has fallen on a successor every way his equal." And Daniel Webster stated in a public address in 1850 that "while we are Protestants a Roman Catholic is Chief Justice and no one imagines that the administration of public justice is less respectable or less secure."

Persons fearful that Catholic office-holders will use their power to benefit their Church unduly should find interesting the words of Charles J. Bonaparte, a Baltimore Catholic who served as Secretary of the Navy and Attorney-General under Theodore Roosevelt. He advised his fellow Catholics as follows: "I think the civil power less dangerous to the Church as a rival, even as an oppressor, than as a patron. . . . When fenced about with laws, when sheltered behind privileges and prescriptions, her rugged fibre grows soft and her sturdy frame dainty. . . . It is no trick of theologian's jargon that calls the Church 'militant;' she is indeed a fighting body and her conquests must be held as they were made, by valor and discipline and well kept arms, not by a Chinese Wall of timid isolation."

Bonaparte always opposed the "intervention of prominent Catholics, *as such,* in partisan politics. I think it eminently desirable that Catholics should be good citizens; indeed, to my mind, this is clearly demanded by the Church's code of morals, and a good citizen normally will be and, in my judgment, ought to be, in our country, a party man; but the Church should have no politics." In thus rejecting special privileges for the Church and affirming the independence of the area of civil government from ecclesiastical direction, Mr. Bonaparte put into words what could be called working principles for Catholics in public office in this country.



Do Catholic officials take the oath of office with a mental reservation which excludes from their pledge any areas their Church may specify? This question is not purely academic in some minds. An answer was dramatically presented in a statement by Justice Brennan before the Senate Judiciary Committee. It is significant that, although other members of the committee regarded the matter as irrelevant, Senator O'Mahony, a Catholic, insisted on asking about the possibility of conflict between Mr. Brennan's faith and his judicial duties. In reply Mr. Brennan said: "I took the oath just as unreservedly as I know you did, and every member, and everyone else of our faith in whatever office, elected or appointive, he may hold. And I say not that I recognize that there is any obligation of our faith superior to that; rather that there isn't any obligation of our faith superior to that. And my answer to the question is categorically that in everything I have ever done, in every office I have held in my life, and that I shall ever do in the future, what shall control me is the oath that I took to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and so act upon the cases that come before me for decision that it is that oath and that alone which governs." A more forthright statement would be difficult to find.

One of the most influential posts ever occupied by a Catholic was that of Joseph Tumulty, personal secretary to President Wilson, a position comparable to that held recently by Sherman Adams. To what extent did Tumulty seek to win preferential treatment for his Church or to incorporate ecclesiastical recommendations into our public policy? The most noteworthy incident with religious implications during Tumulty's term as Presidential secretary was the dispute over our relations with Mexico. Here he vigorously defended the Administration's policy, even in the face of Catholic criticism often characterized by lack of restraint. When a Methodist publication stated that Tumulty had "demonstrated that a Catholic layman can be the most independent sort of a patroit," President Wilson called the statement a "deserved tribute."

SOME OF these remarks may appear to invite praise for Catholic office-holders of the past as if, having had opportunities to confer special favors on their own religion, they exercised unusual restraint by declining to undermine the First Amendment. This is not my intention. Catholic office-holders had no wish or urging to disturb our religious arrangement, nor did they have an opportunity to do so.

Support by the Catholic laity, in and out of public office, of our Church-state formula forms a parallel

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tradition with that of the American hierarchy, which, as Monsignor Ellis has pointed out, from the days of Bishop John Carroll to the present has given our system full endorsement. At this point it would be difficult to determine which of these mutually influencing traditions has been the stronger.

Nor does our system of government provide an opportunity for office-holders to favor one religion over another. The power of a public official or even a party to change accepted or traditional practices in our society is distinctly limited. Regardless of the designs a public officer might have, there are limits to the amount of influence he can wield, especially if his plans include a basic change in our political habits and more particularly if they include a Constitutional amendment. In America no official, lofty or lowly, has boundless authority even within his own branch of the government. The separation of powers, legislative control of the purse, periodic accountability to the electorate, and judicial review provide restrictions specified in the Constitution, and our unwritten rules—Senatorial courtesy, for example—add other limits almost as rigid.

What any office-holder can do varies directly with the approval or tolerance of the electorate. To be successful, political organizations and their members in office must reflect the social makeup of the community. A multitude of conflicting interests of many kinds, religious included, project their rivalry into politics. The accommodation of these various groups and the balancing of their interests form the principal work of government today as they did when James Madison wrote his famous Tenth Essay. A key consideration in every major decision is the prospective reaction of the groups directly or indirectly affected. None can be treated in a belittling or discriminatory fashion without the risk of retaliation by that group. It is this anticipation of unfavorable reaction by the many and varied groups involved which produces moderate decisions by those temporarily in office and, to the despair of impatient progressives, assures the continuation of a basic feature of our political history, the inevitability of gradualism.

Among our most honored institutions are religious liberty and separation of Church and state. These are doubly sacred because religion is involved and because liberty is involved. They are the concern of all our people, the object of notice, respect, and vigilance even by those who choose not to profess a faith. They are thus safe against hasty revision by people or rulers.

In view of this almost unanimous support, it is unthinkable that a public official of any religious persuasion would seek any modification in our Constitutional provisions concerning Church and state. Anxiety concerning the intentions of Catholic public officials on this point certainly seems misplaced, since their record of endorsement of our Church-state formula and their appreciation of the realities of American political life both belie any suspicious designs in this area.

What kind of public official the first Catholic President is likely to be can be learned only from a study of the personal and political habits of each Catholic prospect for that office. The record of American Catholic officials of the past provides no clear answer; their agreement on faith and morals has not produced a distinctive type of public servant. But if their record on one point is any indication of future conduct, non-Catholics need feel no anxiety: Catholic office-holders have been one with men of other faiths in acknowledging the wisdom of our Church-state arrangement and in giving it full support.

Political prediction is normally risky, but it can be safely forecast that any President, whatever his religion, will avoid using his office to further the fortunes of his own faith, both because he has sworn to do so and because such favoritism risks offense to others and invites an unfavorable response. A man respected and resourceful enough to reach the White House can be expected to know and heed the demands of our pluralistic society. Assisting him in this course, whether he be Catholic or not, will be the example of continuous support of the American system of Church-state relations, by his co-religionists, in and out of office.

THE VENTRILOQUIST

Everyone squeezes his speech out:
It comes of having a weak throat,
Of having weary lips;
It comes of ununderstandable dreams,
Of imminent paralysis
Of the highest intentions;
It comes of a brilliant, unspeakable dream
Which says:

There will come a time
In the world that is promised soon
When every person,
Each speaker,
Each desirer

Who has something impossible to say,
Who wants truly to bewail what needs bewailing,
Who wants truly to delight in what ought to delight him,
Who wants truly to develop his insanity,
Who wants truly to utter his love

Will be able to do it
In a single
Word.

LEONARD WOLF.

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Labor, Management and the Public

THE TRADITIONAL Labor Day statement from the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference contains timely proposals on collective bargaining and the public interests. The full text follows:

Labor Day in 1960 finds both labor and management on the defensive and collective bargaining on probation before the bar of public opinion. The reason for this is not far to seek. Rightly or wrongly, public opinion—in the brutally frank words of one competent observer—"is sick and tired of what it considers selfish, irresponsible stupidity on both sides . . . ," and, "no longer willing to say 'boys will be boys' . . . , is calling for the police."

In our judgment, this is putting the case against labor and management much too strongly. The fact remains, however, that, with or without sufficient reason, a growing number of Americans are losing confidence in the ability of union leaders and management representatives to make collective bargaining serve the public interest and, worse than that, are losing faith in the very institution of collective bargaining itself.

This is a rather alarming turn of events. It means, among other things, that, given another round of crippling strikes or lockouts, labor and management might be saddled with some form of compulsory arbitration as a substitute for free collective bargaining. The fact that they escaped this dismal fate in 1960 is no guarantee that their luck will hold out indefinitely. On the contrary, the next time that public opinion "calls for the police," it may not be politically feasible or expedient for the police (meaning, in this context, the Congress of the United States and the several state legislatures) to look the other way.

The situation, however, is not by any means completely hopeleses. Labor and management still have it within their power not only to avoid compulsory arbitration but also, from the more positive point of view, to restore public confidence in the basic soundness of free collective bargaining and voluntary labor-management cooperation.

This presupposes, of course, that both labor and management, fully realizing what they are up against, are prepared to meet the public opinion at least halfway. It also presupposes that the American people and their elected representatives will have the maturity and the good judgment to make haste very slowly in the field of labor-management legislation. To substitute compulsory arbitration for collective bargaining would be disastrous. Similarly, to "cut the unions down to size" or to limit collective bargaining to the plant or company level, as some Americans have petitioned the Congress to do, would be a serious mistake and would undoubtedly create more problems than it would solve.

In arguing against compulsory arbitration and the other restrictive proposals mentioned above, we do not mean to imply that unregulated collective bargaining is necessarily an adequate method of handling labor-management relations under any and all circumstances. On the contrary, there may well be need for additional legislation to safeguard the public interest in emergency situations endangering the security of the nation or adversely affecting the health and safety of its citizens.

We are convinced, however, that no such legislation should be enacted until the National Labor-Management Conference which recently came into being at the invitation of the President of the United States has had an opportunity to formulate its own recommendations. The convening of this National Labor-Management Conference in the Spring of 1960 was a significant step in the right direction, and, while it did not get off to a very auspicious start and has yet to show any measurable results, it deserves the encouragement and support of the American people and should be given ample time to demonstrate its usefulness. For our own part, we sincerely hope that it will be eminently successful and that it will eventually lead to the establishment of continuing labor-management conferences or councils in all of the major industries in the United States.

The purpose of these proposed industry conferences or councils would be three-fold: (1) to develop greater understanding and a better spirit of cooperation between labor and management; (2) to make the parties more acutely conscious of their mutual obligation to serve the public interest; (3) to enable them to fulfill this obligation more effectively than they are now able to do.

The public has a vital interest in the wage and price decisions of labor and management. Unfortunately, however, even those labor leaders and management representatives who recognize this fact—and their number, in our opinion, is greater than the public realizes

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—are not in a position to do very much about it at the present time.

The reason for this—as more and more economists are currently pointing out—is that collective bargaining, almost of its very nature, impels both parties to look more or less exclusively to their own narrow advantage and to operate, so to speak, at cross purposes with one another. Moreover, collective bargaining is rather limited in scope and is generally confined to controversial matters which all too often tend to divide rather than unite labor and management.

This is not to say that collective bargaining should be discarded. Not at all. Free collective bargaining between unions and employers is not only desirable but necessary. We need more of it rather than less. That, of course, is why the Church insists so emphatically on the right of labor to organize and on the obligation of employers and government to respect and facilitate the exercise of this right.

Nevertheless, collective bargaining is not enough. While it is an important step in the right direction, it should be supplemented, wherever possible, with new forms of labor-management cooperation fitted to the particular needs of individual companies and industries and designed to safeguard and promote the common good. For example, there could be regular labor-management meetings on the plant level, distinct from discussion of grievances under negotiated contracts. Such meetings could anticipate problems and develop patterns of cooperation, without interfering with agreements reached under normal collective bargaining.

There is a genuine need also for a series of industry-wide conferences or councils along the lines indicated above—joint labor-management agencies in which the two parties can systematically relate their wage-price decisions to the public interest and, instead of working at cross purposes with one another, can effectively promote the general economic welfare. Moreover, it is to be hoped that in due time these industry-wide groupings will be federated into a permanent national labor-management conference or council within which the ethical guide lines of a sound national wage-price policy can be periodically reviewed.

"It is easy to be skeptical," as one distinguished economist has recently pointed out, "that such an understanding could be brought about in a society which properly treasures the diffusion of authority in its economy as in its politics. On the other hand, it is now widely appreciated that the beggar-thy-neighbor tactics built into the inflationary process ultimately benefit neither capital nor labor and damage the common interest. Under such circumstances, it should not be beyond the wit of a nation which has made federalism an art to harmonize the higher interests of the community with the continued vitality of its private economic institutions."

In recent months there have been several developments which encourage us to share the optimism reflected in this statement. One of these developments has already been mentioned—the convening of a preliminary National Labor-Management Conference under Presidential auspices. Equally noteworthy was the establishment during the past year, in a number of basic steel companies, of joint labor-management public committees empowered to recommend, for the consideration of the parties, a plan for the equitable sharing of the companies' economic progress. And, last but not least, it is gratifying to note that a growing number of high level conferences are currently being held under private auspices on ways and means of improving collective bargaining and developing a greater spirit of public responsibility on the part of labor and management.

All of these developments represent genuine progress. They should not be expected to solve all of our problems in the field of labor-management relations. They will, however, bring up for serious discussion by the two parties many of the right questions—and this will be all to the good.

In conclusion, it remains for us to extend to labor and management on this annual holiday—a holiday which properly belongs to both of them as co-equal partners in the American economy—our congratulations on what they have accomplished in the past and our cordial best wishes for the future success of their efforts to promote the general economic welfare. It is our earnest and prayerful hope—in the words of Pope John XXIII—that there "may . . . reign in social life true charity . . . mutual respect, the will to collaborate, a familiar and fraternal climate according to the enlightened suggestions contained in the letter of Saint Paul to the Colossians read in today's Mass of Saint Joseph, patron of the workingman:

> 'Whatever you do in word or in work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through Him. . . . Whatever you do, work at it from the heart as for the Lord and not for men, knowing that from the Lord you will receive the inheritance as your reward. Serve the Lord Christ' " (Col. 3:17, 23-24).

AN APPEAL

A reader, who is not herself a Catholic, seeks help for a priest who is rehabilitating an impoverished Canadian village. Father Brown has renovated the parish church, built two schools, set up a badly needed dental clinic in his rectory, obtained the free services of a dentist and distributed half a ton of clothing. He needs funds for dental equipment and all sorts of usable clothing. Address: Rev. L. Douglas Brown, St. Stephen's Catholic Church, Cayuga, Ont., Canada.

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THE SCREEN

BENT TWIGS

THERE HAVE been many Hollywood movies lately about young people and the problem confronting them while growing up, but Americans are not alone in developing the youth-into-maturity theme. The French and the Italians have been particularly devoted to it. And now three other countries offer distinctly off-beat pictures on the subject. From India comes "The World of Apu," the final part of the trilogy which producer-director Satyajit Ray based on *Aparajito,* the novel by his fellow countryman, Bibhuti Bhushan Bandyopadhyay. ("Pather Panchali" covered the boyhood of Apu with his family in the hinterland, and "Aparajito" followed Apu as a boy in Benares and as a youth in Calcutta.) "The World of Apu," which can stand by itself, starts in Calcutta where the bookish young man has to leave college because of lack of funds and has difficulty finding a job. He spends his time writing an autobiographical novel which he hopes will bring him fame and fortune.

Except for the beautiful scenes after Apu's wedding showing the couple's idyllic happiness, director Raye uses less of the impressionistic, poetic technique than he did previously. But "The World of Apu" has the same universality of the other films, and I liked it the best of the three. Its moving story of the young husband brought to grief by his wife's death in childbirth and so embittered that he refuses to see his son for five years while he wanders in search of peace is in the great literary tradition. Perhaps one trouble with "The World of Apu" is that it is more literary than visual.

Soumitra Chatterjee is extremely appealing as the young man who grows to maturity while striving to know life and some semblance of contentment in the adversity around him. And Sarmila Tagore is lovely as the grateful young bride anxious to please her boyish husband. Satyajit Ray, who has directed the minor characters well too, is particularly successful in giving his viewers a feeling of place.

Perhaps the greatest asset in "The World of Apu" (as in the other items in the trilogy) is its unpretentious artistry in displaying the people of India—not the lords and masters, but the people. Although the film has good English subtitles, much of the original dialogue is in English. I shouldn't be surprised at year's end to find the "The World of Apu" on my list of the best ten.

IN TELLING the story of a young girl's wakening, "End of Innocence" also aims at universality, but the locale and period and circumstances are so special that the film becomes a singular case. Nonetheless this Argentinian film is extremely sad and disturbing. Its script is a collaboration by Beatriz Guido, who also wrote *House of the Angel,* the novel on which it is based, by Leopoldo Torre Nilsson, who directed the film, and by Martin Rodriguez Mentasti. It concentrates on sixteen-year-old Ana, who is so sheltered by her religiously stern mother and her hell-and-damnation-lecturing duenna that she is completely unprepared for the shock of reality when it is forced upon her. Director Nilsson skillfully contrasts a narrow, fear-inspiring distortion of Catholicism with the decadence of aristocratic society. Unfortunately, in trying to establish the corruption of politics in the Buenos Aires of the early twenties the film overstates its case and becomes repetitive. Sometimes this does not lessen the tragic effect of Ana's story.

Elsa Daniel gives a superb performance as this groping girl who is confused by adolescence but receives only censure and repression from her elders when she so badly needs love and understanding. That she should be attracted to the handsome young politician (Lautaro Murua) who comes to see her father is only natural. That she should be overwhelmed with sympathy for him, when her father enthusiastically arranges a duel between the young man and a political opponent, is in keeping with her sensitivity. But the deadening aftermath to this man's brutal assault on her is doubly tragic since it was unnecessary. "End of Innocence" may not please some viewers while they're in the theater, but it will probably provoke some reflections afterward. And director Nilsson deserves commendation for his delicate handling of the theme of innocence in a decadent society, the theme that so fascinated Henry James and Elizabeth Bowen.

IT TAKES no great stretch of the imagination to describe "Hamlet" as the story of a young man overwhelmed by the problems of life. Certainly this describes the story as it is told in a German film called "The Rest Is Silence." Set in the post-war Germany of today, it starts with young John H. Claudius leaving his philosophy post at Harvard and coming home after an absence of twenty years. His family is greatly disturbed about his suspicious attitudes and the fact that he stilll mourns his father, supposedly killed in an air raid fifteen years earlier. Playgoers and readers of "Hamlet" will follow the parallel right from the beginning and may be more interested in a modern version of the Shakespeare plot than in the portrait of conditions in Germany today. As the picture advances, it inevitably becomes more a game of recognition than a moving drama in its own right. And Helmut Kautner, who produced, directed and wrote the screenplay, frequently has difficulty in sticking to the original. At times his script is quite contrived and ineffective.

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The Commonweal Approach

The editors of The Commonweal do not accept the philosophical principles of that continental "Liberalism" which was condemned by the Church, but the magazine's approach to day-to-day issues is normally described as "liberal." The term itself, of course, is ambiguous and clouded with historical uncertainty, meaning one thing to one man and something quite different to another, and normally we hesitate to use it ourselves. We do, however, understand why people refer to us this way and we accept the designation—although our "liberal" views on many questions strike us as more truly conservative than those advanced by most of the right-wing Catholic publications.

Be this as it may, the editors of this magazine clearly tend to be "liberal," not in the nineteenth-century European sense but in the modern American sense of the word. We are deeply committed to the idea of political democracy, and we have little patience with Catholic writers who discuss political questions as if nothing had happened between the French Revolution and the present. We value the American Constitution and oppose any interference with due process of law. We cherish our own civil liberties, and we defend those of others. We abhor anti-semitism or racial discrimination in any form.

We are deeply concerned with genuine measures to fight Communism—moral, economic, military and psychological—and completely uninterested in "anti-Communist" crusades that make bold headlines but signify nothing. We support domestic measures we think will help in achieving that social justice described in the papal encyclicals, and we favor efforts to promote international social justice by aiding the underdeveloped nations. We think Catholics have not given enough thought to what it means to live in a pluralistic society and we consider it imperative that they repair this omission.

—From the 35th Anniversary issue

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For all that, "The Rest Is Silence" can be highly recommended. Producer Kautner's film is handsome, with fine black-and-white photography, and director Kautner's cast come through expertly. Hardy Kruger is so impressive as John H. Claudius that one hopes he will soon be advanced to Hamlet himself. Peter Van Eyck as his uncle-step-father, Adelheid Seeck as his mother, Ingrid Andree as Fee von Pohl (a very fey and schizophrenic Ophelia indeed), and the entire cast, add much to this stimulating film. Moviegoers familiar with "Hamlet" may enjoy some of Kautner's modernizations such as Fee's greenhouse full of flowers and the ballet instead of the play-within-the-play that John H. composes to trap his parents.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE U-2 FLIGHT

New Brunswick, Canada

TO THE EDITORS: Yours is a Catholic-edited magazine and a nationwide one. Is that not a challenge? And yet you refuse to speak. Week after week you make observations, you regard this problem and that. But you do not speak. You don't say: "This is bad. That is good." You don't even say: "I believe this. But I do not believe that."

Today, desperately, more harshly than ever, America (and the world) needs truth. "Truth is treasure, the best tried on earth." So spoke Langland, in the plain apostolic tradition. But all around us today, in politics, in journalism, art, criticism, "ways of life," conversation even, is not the whole tendency of the nation to shelter behind words instead of boldly to place itself in front of them, pioneer-wise, in the van of truth? And do we not shelter behind assumptions, the kind of worn-out assumptions and untested judgments that suffocate but do not clothe truth's naked body? For truth is indeed a naked body, astonishing, and fearful, and beautiful; but it is an easy thing for those who despise her to shut their eyes and to persuade themselves that she is other than she is.

In North America one sometimes feels that the very air one breathes is for sale, bought and sold by radio advertising. In this sort of atmosphere, in order to effect a counterbalance, it is not enough for Christian journalists merely to refrain from untruth, to give soft answers. The whole truth is the only honorable alternative to complete silence. It must be shouted from the housetops and from the desks of editors. The wounds truth inflicts may be bitter but they are salutary. This is your job.

But what you write is sometimes woefully inadequate.

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You say, for instance [May 20]: "Espionage is practiced by all major powers, but no one admits it, and agents are warned from the beginning that they are expendable." Expendable. You leave it at that. What on earth do you mean—"expendable"? How can a human being be expendable? You use words. Where are your words now, your words of wrath, at the foul notion that any people, any Government, could regard one of its citizens as "expendable," and officially provide him with the means of suicide? If you have words of anger and surprise, are they not sleeping in your typewriter?

You say: "What should also be obvious, is that such flights by any nation today involve a tremendous risk of war . . . a war caused by miscalculation and human error, which is an ever-present danger in a world armed with thermo-nuclear weapons. . . . *Perhaps in the end the decision would be to take a calculated risk.*" (My italics.)

Why did you not finish your sentence? Why did you not say: ". . . . The decision would be to take a calculated risk of destroying the lives of a very large proportion of the old men and women, young men and women, children and babies, born and unborn, who inhabit that part of God the Father's world which we call in this century, Anno Domini 1960, Russia, Europe, and North America; together with the calculated risk that the remainder of the human race would suffer radiation hazards that would lead to the progressive mutilation of the race." This sentence would have been longer, it is true, but newsprint in the twentieth century is cheap, while life need not be. But this calculated "risk," you write, is not the "really disturbing thing." You maintain: "The really disturbing thing about the present affair, is the fear that such factors were not weighed by our elected national leaders simply because they were not aware of what was going on." Your guess may be right. It is possible that they do not know what is going on. But whether they know, or whether they don't know, you surely know, and your readers should surely know, that the plain and exact truth of the matter is this: that any man, however exalted or humble his position, whether he is a President of the United States, a First Secretary of a Communist party, a spy, housewife, or general laborer; that any one of us who takes any step that involves the risk of nuclear war, or any step that is not a retreat from that risk, commits crime and folly of terrestial, apocalyptic proportions.

But you did not say this. DENNIS KNIGHT.

BOOKS

Facing Basic and Baffling Problems of the Modern World

CHRISTIAN INITIATION. By Louis Bouyer, Orat. Macmillan. $3.50.
THE CHRISTIAN TODAY. By Jean Daniélou, S.J. Desclee. $2.75.

By LEONARD F. X. MAYHEW

IT IS SIMPLER to arrive at an abstract certitude deduced from principle than to apply the same principle to concrete actuality. In the normal course of events, we find it far easier to state the terms of a problem than to face and solve that same problem. These conclusions of common-sense reason are as true with regard to theology as to any other science, the main difference being that the stakes are higher and the imperative is more urgent. The principle underlying the point of the present two books is that the revealed doctrines of Christianity do contain the answers to the problems of the second half of the twentieth century and that the Christian message is relevant to the human situation now—as it was and ever shall be. The problems at point indeed are seemingly more numerous and more complex than ever before. Therefore, the ratio of difficulty increases beyond whatever guidance experience is able to provide.

The logical starting point for the Church must be to make itself understood. The ensemble of Christian doctrine must be demonstrated to be intelligible and pertinent to the basic questions of purpose and order which govern the conduct of human life. The present state of things seems to frustrate the very beginning of this process. Almost no element of contemporary life offers convincing analogy by which the supernatural can interest, much less convince. This aspect of the difficulty has been amply treated. The positive sciences do not destroy logic or the conviction that purpose must underlie every activity. But under the impact of the scientific advances of the past years the importance of the spiritual has become, for many, more difficult to grasp and to assert. As a result, not only the intelligentsia but the average man (whoever he may be) tends to look at every aspect of life with a pragmatic bias and with a more or less unacknowledged faith in salvation through inevitable, unlimited material progress.

Even the best which the secular mind can boast seems dogged by the same difficulty. Social idealism, divorced from the traditional bases of morality and motivated by humanism for its own sake or reinforced by a theory of historical determinism, offers the same frustration in an even more saddening measure.

The result is that the secular mind sees faith either as a fantastic evolution or as a craven attempt to escape the monumental problems involved in building a city of man based on abundance, peace and a reasonable distribution of the riches

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of earth and space. The believer himself cannot escape the influence of his world and all too often he adopts an attitude which contributes to the problem rather than to a solution. Here lies the cause of the often noted tendency of Catholics to conservatism and to opposition of social changes because they do not embody the full measure of Christian ideals. On the other hand, the Catholic liberal's temptation is to sympathize to such a degree with these aspirations that the core of the Gospel—faith in supernatural salvation—may be slighted in favor of what really verges on a purely "social Gospel," a love of neighbor without love of God, an ethical imperative divorced from dogma.

Progress toward the solution of these difficulties will, barring miracles, be slow. Only through the repeated efforts of courageous thinkers and men of action immersed in both the faith and the actualities of our time can we hope to advance. A few insights of real value within the work of a thinker—theologian or critic—must be constantly sifted from what is necessarily going to be imperfect. An intellectual accretion of insight, subject to the constant pragmatic test of application to given situation, will—must, I believe—lead to the Christianization of our age and world, the "renewing all things in Christ," of St. Pius X.

Fathers Bouyer and Daniélou, two of France's most illustrious Catholic thinkers, have long devoted their energy toward achieving the goal I have been describing. Clearly, the point of departure in such work must be the sources of Christian truth—Bible, Tradition, Liturgy. To these fonts the authors have turned repeatedly. Bouyer, the specialist in the liturgy, draws from it a fresh view of the age-old Christian teachings. Both are at home in the thought of the early Fathers and in the influences at play in the contemporary world as well. Both attempt in different ways to present Catholicism in a manner which preserves its supernatural character while establishing its relevance to contemporary life.

Father Bouyer's book, which he intends as an initiation "for every Christian, actual or potential," contains eight chapters, each devoted to the "discovery" of some aspect of religion: first, the spiritual and God; then, the Church, the Eucharist and finally the discovery of eternal life. It is an organic process, closely reasoned and clearly conceived to lead to the pre-determined goal. In the chapter entitled "The Discovery of the New Life," the author faces the complex, central problem of whether grace leaves room for nature, faith for acquired knowledge, love of God for human affection. This difficulty typifies the uneasiness many of our contemporaries feel *vis-à-vis* our insistence on the supernatural. The unequivocal answer is, as the author demonstrates, that the Christian is such only by faith working through charity and that charity is real only when directed to other men really existing in a real world. This is the longest chapter of the book and the one in which the author presents his most original thinking. The only weak point occurs when he attempts to define the Christian's attitude toward efforts to improve the social order. A stronger case for the Christian's obligation to involve himself in the struggle for the natural common good of mankind could have been made from the implications of the doctrine of the Mystical Body and from the very notion of charity which the author has expressed so well. This criticism only stands out by contrast to the masterful handling of the other aspects of the question. The freshness of the language and approach and the abundant insights far more than compensate. As in *Paschal Mystery* and *Liturgical Piety* Bouyer employs his familiarity with liturgical purpose and background to form arguments which appeal to the total man, mind and heart.

Father Daniélou has elected certain aspects of Christian life which often prove stumbling blocks for the secular mind and the focus of the tension between supernatural and humanistic. These range from holiness to obedience, from liberty to poverty. His book is far more a practical guide to action than an organized exposition of a whole theology. He has addressed himself directly to the most perplexing area open to a contemporary theologian. At his best he pierces through the superficial compromise that might satisfy a less able critic in order to present the real issues with clarity and force as well as a very refreshing, if restrained, optimism. One of his most thought provoking expositions occurs in the chapters on "Holiness" and "Love of God" where he propounds with prophetic vigor the essentially theocentric, rather than anthropocentric, character of true religion. In the chapter on "Hope" he concludes that basing himself on theological hope working through charity, the Christian must "not suspect the future but take possession of it . . . (and) give the searching world the soul it lacks." Unfortunately the translation is stilted to the point of occasionally obscuring the meaning of an entire passage.

The sole criterion of judgement for books of this type is whether they actually do make some inroads against the most basic and baffling problem facing the Church today—how to meet and convince the world in which it lives. Both these books make such inroads.

Recent Auden

HOMAGE TO CLIO. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $3.50.

By JOSEPH P. CLANCY

IT IS NO pleasure to report that this collection of Auden's most recent verse is overpriced, padded with trivia, and self-imitative. The last defect is the most serious.

It is hard to tell—hardest of all for the poet himself—exactly when the themes and techniques that a poet has been exploring for some years begin to become automatic rather than imaginative responses to reality. The danger is constant, for critic and poet, of judging too soon that this vein is exhausted: one more poem may suddenly discover

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that there are possibilities unrealized before. But even the best of Auden's new work shows him marking time, giving what is sometimes a good imitation of himself, often a tedious parody of his special mannerisms. Nothing here equals "Under Sirius," "Memorial for the City," "Under Which Lyre," or "Horae Canonicae." I should add that the standard he set in those poems is a very high one for anyone to achieve.

Once this has been realized, the reader can settle down to enjoy a poet who remains versatile and entertaining, even when not at his best. There is "Metalogue to *The Magic Flute*," for instance, a witty commentary on current taste and the endurance of Mozart: a "metalogue" comes in the middle, because

No modern audience finds it
incorrect,
For interruption is what we
expect
Since that new god, the Paid
Announcer, rose . . .

There is the wry but poignant "An Island Cemetery," with its comment on the human skeleton:

who would be ashamed to own
To a patience that we share
with stone,
This underlying thing in us
Which never at any time made
a fuss?

And there is the title poem which forms a complement to "Ode to Gaea," and which, despite the often annoying Auden mannerisms—he can be just too chatty, too "knowing"—is the best poem in the book:

Lives that obey you move like
music,
Becoming now what they only
can be once,
Making of silence decisive sound:
it sounds
Easy, but one must find the time.

"An overpersonal style," Auden wrote a few years ago, "no matter how authentic so far as it goes, becomes a prison from which the poet cannot escape." "Cannot" is too final, but the prison, in Auden's case, is real enough. One only hopes he finds some means of escape.

Inner Struggle of a Romantic Artist

THE LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. By Nikos Kazantzakis. Simon and Schuster. $6.

By MICHAEL NOVAK

IF THIS NOVEL were written by a contemporary American, it would be considered a poor book: too ornate, too flowery, too overdrawn. It does not approach the power of the New Testament, or match the insights of Guardini's *The Lord*. Its figure of Jesus has not the authenticity or appeal of Dostoevsky's Christ-image, Myshkin. Perhaps the turgidity of the book is due to Kazantzakis' efforts at a rich, dialectical Greek; or the translator's struggle for a comparable English; or the different manner of present Greek literature in general. At any rate, the story lacks the qualities of tightness, simplicity, and pacing.

The novel attempts to describe Christ's gradual awakening to his Messianic task, then to his divinity, then to the path of the cross. At each step, Jesus resists, longing for a more human and ordinary life, a wife, children. He has none of the revolutionary ardor of the burly, red-eyed Judas—the most manly and dependable of the apostles. He vacillates between hot emotions, whether of softness or of agonized determination to be severe.

Several problems militate against Kazantzakis' grasp of the significance of Christ. One of these problems is the consciousness of Christ. Christ is both God and man, but this does not mean that he has two "consciousnesses," one of which perceived human things, the other divine. On the contrary, consciousness belongs to the person; Christ was ever serenely and steadily one person. The novelist who begins with Christ as a conscious man but not a conscious God, impales himself on the improbability that this one person is blind concerning the

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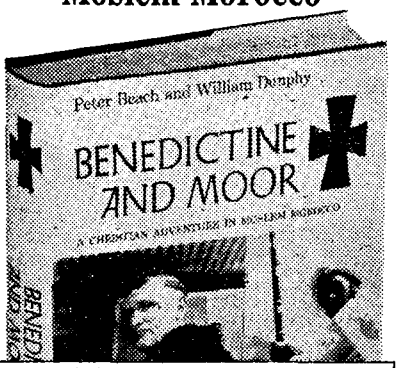

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Introduction by
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one part of him that is the Perfection of perfections. Surely an unconscious God is operating far below his capabilities, and is not really God. Kazantzakis' implication is just this; Christ is not really God, but suffers a nostalgia for God, is drawn irresistibly by God, is perhaps made into God. A great deal of drama and tension is lost in this view; it is an easy solution, thought of long ago.

Secondly, since Kazantzakis pivots the narrative upon the relationship between Jesus and Mary Magdalene (a mutual love which he in the main handles with taste and respect), he reminds us that in fact we don't understand very well Christ's sex life. Christ was a man "like us in all things save sin." But what is it like to be a normal man, exempt from the imbalances of original sin and the psychic disorders inherited from human parents? What is it like to be the Maker of sex? Surely, it is notable that Christ's entourage in the later days of his public life consistently included women. How did he feel towards them? How was his affection shown? What is it like to be pure entirely? and without prudishness?

Perhaps it is wiser to read Kazantzakis' novel not as an image of Christ, but as an image of Kazantzakis' own struggle of spirit with flesh (and of divine with human, which he managed to confound with it); his own Foreward supports this approach. Then the relationship of Magdalene and Kazantzakis become clear: she is the symbol of bodily embrace and wifely companionship in God's law, against the harsh way of God alone and the symbol of the cross, which conflict in Kazantzakis' heart. Almost sentimentally, he wants to love all his "brothers"—all men universally, and the birds and sky and grass. From this same root of sentiment, he wishes to find peace and joy with a woman, in the embrace of love; he wishes to have his own small land, his sons, his work. He wishes to be a fiery redeemer of injustice, and at the same time a humble just man, married, content in his small affairs.

It is utterly tragic that Kazantzakis' romantic imagination, all fire, dreams, and furor, did not allow him to see that it was this very combination of world-love and littleness that Christ came to make possible. It is true that the "ascent of Mount Carmel" and of Calvary often demand of certain individuals the renunication of human love, and that celibacy and virginity remain the springs of a special heroism in Christ's flock. But it is equally true that, unlike the pagan philosophers' (from Plato to Nietzsche), the chief significance of Christ's call to the perfect life is that it is addressed not to the heroes but to the broken, the unintelligent, the poor, and the crippled. It is addressed to the married people of small joys and small sorrows, who are willing to transform daily trivia by great love and self-purification.

Kazantzakis' novel must be regarded as the inner struggle of an artist who could not really grasp this good news; a man who persisted in identifying the flesh with the Evil One, the luminous forces of the spirit with God—in spite of his better judgment; a child, in short, of our own manichean, romantic age, and not of the Gospels. Still, there *are* many mansions, and perhaps the intensity of Kazantzakis' wrestling does shed light, and "every free man who reads this book . . . will more than before . . . love Christ," as he hoped.

To Transcend Convention

LETTERS TO WOMEN. By Ignatius Loyola (and Friends). Edited by Hugo Rahner, S. J. Herder and Herder. $12.95.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

IT WILL COME as a surprise to many readers that a considerable portion of St. Ignatius Loyola's immense correspondence consisted of letters to women. That this fact will surprise is, in itself, surprising, since neither soldiers nor saints are normally without female friends.

Somehow, nonetheless, the "Soldier Saint" has come to be thought of as a military and militant man, far removed from feminine influence—or interference. The eminent Father Rahner, in nearly six hundred pages of letters, biographical data, and commentary, here conclusively dispels such error.

Father Rahner has disposed the letters to and from Ignatius's correspondents not chronologically but according to subject matter. The sections of the book, therefore, are titled "The Courtier of Heaven (Correspondence with Royal Ladies)"; "God's Cavalier (Correspondence with Noble Ladies)"; "Begging for the Kingdom of God (Letters to Benefactresses)"; "The Inexorable Comforter (Letters to Spiritual Daughters)"; "Father in Christ (Letters to Mothers of Fellow-Jesuits)"; and "Friendship in God (Correspondence with Women who were his Friends)."

This tidy distinction is perhaps the most practical, in dealing with a large body of material. For the American woman reader, there is something irresistibly funny about it, however. One thinks at once of those distaff correspondents represented under "God's Cavalier," who might have yearned to appear under "The Courtier of Heaven." As Father Rahner amply suggests in his commentary, women can be troublesome creatures. What of those listed in any of the other categories, possibly fussing in Eternity because they were not listed simply as "Women who were his Friends?"

The Jesuit editor seems to have used the last heading as a carry-all for correspondents who were not Royal, not Noble, not Benefactresses, not Mothers of Fellow-Jesuits. Yet each of the long-dead ladies, to judge by their own letters, thought of Ignatius as her Friend, and from a feminine point of view, it is always nicer to be regarded as a friend than to be regarded as a benefactress, or a mother of a fellow-Jesuit, or even as Royal or Noble.

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This, of course, is facetious speculation, but it illustrates a point in present-day shuffling of clerical-lay relationship. As in other areas, here apparently we need more confidence, more trust, and more sanctity. Ignatius did not scruple to address Isabel Roser (in 1532) with, "To you I owe more than anyone else in this life." But Father Rahner is quick to point out that this letter "reveals in almost extravagant words his feeling of gratitude toward his pious benefactress."

This kind of editorial comment may make modern readers impatient, and is sure to inspire the wish that Ignatius might have been allowed to speak for himself. When he does, in the present volume, he is unfailingly courteous, understanding and kind. He is also human. Even with Jeronima Pezzani and her seven other "penitents of Modena," the only females who have thus far succeeded in establishing a ladies' auxiliary to the Society of Jesus, Ignatius appears to have been patient and just.

What Ignatius had to say to the women of his time was doubtless pertinent for them, and much of it is pertinent for women of our time. It is a permanent truth that women need spiritual advisors who are also friends, and it is a contemporary, U.S.A. truth that few such men are to be found.

Father Rahner supplies extensive and valuable data about the lady correspondents, succeeding in a suggestion of what must have been the temper of the period. And it is not at all his fault if the tone of his work implies that, although such correspondence may have been necessary to the founder of his Order, thank God it is not necessary today.

All this seems unnecessary and a little sad, in a country and a time where Jesuit Fathers have begun the undertaking of educating girls as well as boys, and when hundreds of American Jesuits have acquired close and loyal female friends. *They* are persevering in their Saintly Founder's footsteps, thank goodness, and their girls will enjoy Ignatius's letters, and profit by them, no matter which of Father Rahner's "divine" categories they happen to fit. Perhaps it takes a *bona fide* Saint safely to transcend convention—but it seems more likely that normal persons or ordinary good will may do the same, without undue explanation. In the present instance, one reader, at least, wishes that St. Ignatius might appear unexplained.

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